1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

The ordinary houses are mere mud hovels, which give the place an appearance similar to that of an Arab village. Every domestic operation is carried on in public, and the whole family may be seen sleeping on the low flat roofs in full view of neighbours or passers-by.

Kūrdistan is for the most part a barren country, cultivated fields and gardens being found only in the proximity of towns and large villages. With the clansmen pasturage is the only resource, and in summer they wander from highland to highland seeking pasturage and water for their large flocks of sheep. A tribe on the march is a picturesque sight. The baggage is carried on the backs of bullocks, which sometimes carry in addition two or three children and the cradle, if the mother has not strapped this with its inmate to her own back. Striding along with the other women may be seen several Amazonian figures, who seem to be in charge of the party, and much more responsible for its safety than the men, who saunter along carrying only their arms, a heavy mace hanging from their girdles, and a sword and buckler at their backs. Beyond guarding the flocks, the men take no part in the work connected with them, all of which devolves on the women.

Kūrds seldom eat the flesh of their flocks, which they consider too valuable for consumption, but content themselves for the most part with the dairy produce, milk, cheese, and butter, curds and *yaourt*, with thin cakes baked in the *tandour*, and a kind of pilaf made from wheat instead of rice. Butter is made in a very primitive fashion. A large sheepskin

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

Sultan Murad and Siso the Shepherd.[1]

It is well known that the Kūrds lead their sheep in flocks into Syria and Arabia, and even to Constantinople. Once a shepherd named Siso, of the tribe of Bera-Berukān, led his sheep to Constantinople for sale. His shoulders covered with a goatskin, as is the custom among shepherds, he grazed his sheep in the neighbourhood of the capital.

One day Sultan Murad and his *lala*,[2] both disguised as dervishes, were walking in the suburbs, and they came to the spot where Siso was with his sheep. Now Sultan Murad had never in his life seen Kūrds, nor shepherds in such a costume. Seeing Siso so strangely dressed, the Sultan was astonished, and said to his *lala*, "What race of men is this who resemble in no respect the people of Stamboul, with their heads and their eyes covered with goatskins?"

The *lala* replied that it was a Kūrd from Anatolia, who had brought his sheep for sale.

"Let us approach this strange creature," said the Sultan, "and see what manner of man he is."

Then the Sovereign and his *lala* in their dervish disguises came up to the shepherd and saluted him. He returned their salutation, saying, "You are welcome, *baba* (father) dervishes." The Sultan and the *lala* sat down. The shepherd had a pipe with a short stem which he filled and offered to the dervishes, who

[1] Jaba, *Recueil*, &c., p. 62.

[2] Tutor or confidential attendant. This name is also given to a male slave who has the charge of children.

162 361 houses to a much larger number, which explains what may at first appear as abnormally high numbers. To these have been added the figures for nomads, of which a discussion will be found below.

	Men	Women	Total	Number of villages
Markaz Qadha (the central district)				
The town of Rowanduz	2,195	2,359	4,554	
The nahiya	9,012	7,098	16,110	92
Balak	4,047	3,768	7,815	70
Baredost	3,325	2,761	6,086	-
Margasur	-	-	3,078	55
Dara Harir	5,375	5,578	10,953	90
			48,596	
Nomads	2,427	3,123	5,550	
			54,146	

The numbers given for nomads may be treated with even greater suspicion, because they are even less amenable than the villager to the census-taker, who, in their minds, has little to differentiate himself from the tax-collector or recruiting officer.

● 233 369 The matter of the nomad--kotchir in Kurdish, as opposed to karmanj, the villager--must give us pause. The term "nomad" has a variety of applications, and, in the Middle East, is given its classical sense in those Arab wanderers of the Syrian and Arabian deserts or the Turkoman horsemen of the northern marches, "true" nomads in the sense that to a very large extent they can live independently of others from the produce of their flocks

and herds. The Kurdish shepherds and herdsmen of northern Iraq cannot be said to belong to this group. Although the matter requires more exact study, they live in symbiotic relationship with certain larger groups of sedentary farmers with whom they have definite economic and social ties, these last usually tribal or, at least, a common overlordship. It seems very much as though a real division of labour were involved, certain of the group being devoted to move the flocks of the whole with the change of seasons, but the historical background of this interdependence is more complex. It is, for example, uncertain whether or not the Kurdish people as a whole were once nomadic in some restricted sense, one author holding that the word "Kurd" itself was in Medieval days but a generic term for such wanderers.[1] However the development may have taken place, there is abundant evidence that the kotchir, with their mobility and firepower (the nomad of the Middle East emphasizes weapons to a much greater extent then the agriculturist), exercised until quite recently extensive dominance over the settled folk while quite inferior to them in numbers. The Kurdish chieftains, the old powers of the land, are in many cases associated with kotchir groups, perhaps belonging directly among them, although as landowners they need not follow the migrations. It should further be remembered that a small number of herdsmen can account for

[1] Mazaheri, 1951, p. 234.

a great number of animals, thus partially explaining the seemingly small figure for "nomads" cited above. 233 [162]

In spring the kotchir are on the move, leading their flocks of sheep and goats from winter pasturage around Mosul and Erbil to summer grazing in the hills and mountains. The passes and defiles are filled with their animals, an annoying impasse to swift communication, and their black tents line the watercourses and trails. As winter approaches they return once again from the uplands, seeking the warmth of the Jazira plain. In former days their passage could often be turbulent. Because of his flocks, the kotchir must get through, and was accustomed to fight a way if none peaceful could be found. Much of this has lately been changed, for police vehicles with automatic weapons are strong arguments against violence, and the construction of better roads has greatly facilitated movement, although the nomad still has the right of way after dark, and moving a vehicle through the sea of animals blinking in the headlights is difficult. Even then the kotchir constitute one of the most difficult administrative problems of a qaimmaqam, such as that of Rowanduz. He must arbitrate their quarrels in passage (usually a sheep missing from the nomad, or transient flocks in a villager's field) as well as those they cannot settle among themselves. Lastly, as many cross the national border into Iranian Azerbaijan, the qaimmaqam of Rowanduz must arrange their transfer twice each year with the authorities of that country. 221 233 [625] [491] [693] [648]

The local
mountain partridge (Kurdish, shikaw) makes a regularly 223
favored dish, and is clubbed or snared. Wolves are 224
occasionally shot in winter for their pelts, and a few 136
furs may always be seen hanging in the shops of merchants
in Rowanduz. Snow leopards and bears are only rarely
encountered. Numerous stories surround bears and their 825
predilection for honey. They are thought to be in some
way akin to humans, and tales of their abduction of women
for mates are frequent. Fishing, carried on with nets or 226
bombs of blasting powder, is similarly limited, and the
largest catch is a type of carp.

Animal husbandry constitutes one of the most important 231
activities of the area, because wool and skins are two of
its few valuable exports. The animals so utilized are the
black-haired goat and fat-tailed sheep, the latter often
stained with some mark in red ochre as a "brand." From [422]
the sheep and goats wool, skins, flesh, and milk are ob-
tained. Cattle have utility as beasts of burden, and are [492]
only rarely slaughtered for their meat. The dairy products 234
of all these animals constitute a large part of the daily 262
diet as milk, mast (artificially curdled milk, yoghurt),
butter, and cheese. Gi or clarified butter is commonly used
in cooking, in competition with industrially produced
vegetable oil, and is prepared by agitating a milk-filled
sheepskin suspended from a wooden tripod and allowing the
butter to melt. It has been noted that the kotchir or 233
nomads seem to act as shepherds for the entire area, but
they do not exercise an exclusive monopoly, for almost

every village maintains its own little flock and its shepherd. In addition, individual households make a practice of buying animals to fatten for slaughter, for example, for the feast that ends Ramadan, and they wander freely in the yards and streets, usually given into the care of a youngster. Poultry and eggs are of similar dietary importance to the villager, and chicken, ducks, geese, and turkeys are kept in large numbers. Mountain partridges, the chikaw spoken of above, are often penned in small cages for fattening. Poultry are usually left to forage for themselves, and almost every household has a number of chickens pecking for nourishment in its yard. One street in Rowanduz, to the fearful exclusion of dogs and bypassers, was entirely dominated by a huge rooster.

For drawing the plough oxen are commonly used. Donkeys and mules are occupied with the transportation of burdens, sometimes far out of proportion to the size and apparent capacity of the animal. Only the Nestorian Christians seem to pack horses, unlike the Kurd or Arab. It is interesting that muleteers, like their compatriots in Europe and America, often carry on extended monologues with their beasts, quite oblivious to the amusement of listeners. One such speech, addressed to a donkey by a young driver and transcribed at the time ran, in part, as follows: "Go along, uncle (khalo), go along. Why are you so slow today? Why are you no longer a friend to me? Ullah! watch out! You nearly broke into that shop. Come along, uncle, you will have me killed one day." Horses, mules, and donkeys

the Prophet's Tribe, or a holy man. The identities of 766
these two had been forgotten. In one there was the
conventional white rag tied to a pole leaning against the
wall, and in the other a tattered green banner hanging from
a flagpole whose ornament was a flat metal hand, the [751]
"Hand of Fatima" previously mentioned. Some graves had a 764
large quantity of broken blue porcelain scattered over them,
and it was said that this custom was followed if the
deceased was a young man, both to indicate the grave as
such and to avert further misfortune. There are indica-
tions, however, that breaking porcelain at death is a
cultural trait of some antiquity, and further study might
prove it an interesting index of historical connection. The
townspeople seem to take little care of their graveyard, [233]
and flocks customarily find pasture there, gathering under
the oak for shelter in the summer heat.

The mausoleum of Isma'il Beg might be mentioned 766
separately, because it is not found in the graveyard, but
beside the great house now ruled by Lali Khan, and differs
considerably from the typical Kurdish grave described above.
It is a small, square wooden building with a pitched roof
(itself a rarity in Kurdistan) entered by a door kept
locked during the night. The interior walls and ceiling
are plastered and painted with a light wash. To the
right of the door the sarcophagus stands, covered with
cloth so that identification of its material was not per-
mitted. Against the center of the wall facing the door,

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Fig. 7. Rice fields in front of the mountains of Kurdistan.

condition the siting of the villages. Some deep hits—three in a row—at Topzawa suggest the former use of *qandīs*. Watercourses and springs are dammed to form basins for the fetching of water and for washing purposes. Irrigation canals lead across the fields of vegetables and tobacco. In digging these canals mattocks (E. 2241) and foot plough[35], are used. The latter are worked by two men. The foot plough was seen in use down by the Lesser Zab on the terraced rice fields. Around the villages of Topzawa and Rakawa grow poplars, walnut trees, a few mulberry and fig trees. The hill sides have scattered growths of low oak. Above these villages lie the vineyards, the crop of which is used for must and dried to raisins. Around the villages of Sargalu, Balkha and Tawella, which have ample water, are big fruit plantations with plums, apricots and mulberries. The domestic animals are: cows and oxen, *gā*, fat-tailed sheep, brown and black goats, *bīzin*, donkeys, *kār*, and mules, *hestr*, with ducks, fowls and geese. Horses, *asp*, are kept as a luxury and ridden with a curb bit[36]. There are also big, yellow sheep dogs and for hunting (wild pig and bear) Persian greyhounds[37]. At 5 a.m. the cows are driven out of the village from the individual houses by children and old women. During the day the animals grazing on the slopes are guarded by young men. At 6–7 p.m. the animals are driven back

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

to the village, when the cows find their own way to their respective stalls for the evening milking. Sheep and goats are out on the mountains with the village shepherd from the middle of June. I was told in Balkha that his wages were 25 fils = 6d per sheep for six months. Cattle are brought in the vicinity of the village twice daily—about 10 a.m. and 5 p.m.—when the women go out and milk. Sheep and goats are clipped at the end of July. Wheat is sown in January and harvested at the beginning of June. Scythes are not used. Side by side the men of the village advance through the wheat field and cut the straw with a woodenhandled sickle, *dās*, (E. 2243) about 27 cm.s in length. The sickle is held in the right hand. With four fingers of the left hand the men carry four harvesting claws, *qaynāx*,[38] (E. 2242) fastened together by metal links. The corn is cut by the men alone, whereas the transport of it to the threshing floor is the women's task[39]. This is done either by the help of a long, plaited woollen rope, *gurīs*, (E. 2244) about 6.80 m. long, or a large-meshed net. The rope is made by the women. The material is natural-coloured yellow-brown, black-brown and white goat and sheep's wool spun on a distaff. The rope is slung around a shock of suitable size, the woman lies on her back on top of it, draws the end of the rope over her right shoulder and gets up. The corn is unloaded at one of the village's open, circular, gypsum-glazed threshing floors[40], or in front of one of the houses where the earth is firm, having been rolled with a wooden roller which is also used to press out the

Fig. 8 Harvest implements, sickle (E. 2243), claws (E. 2242), and handmade rope (E. 2244).

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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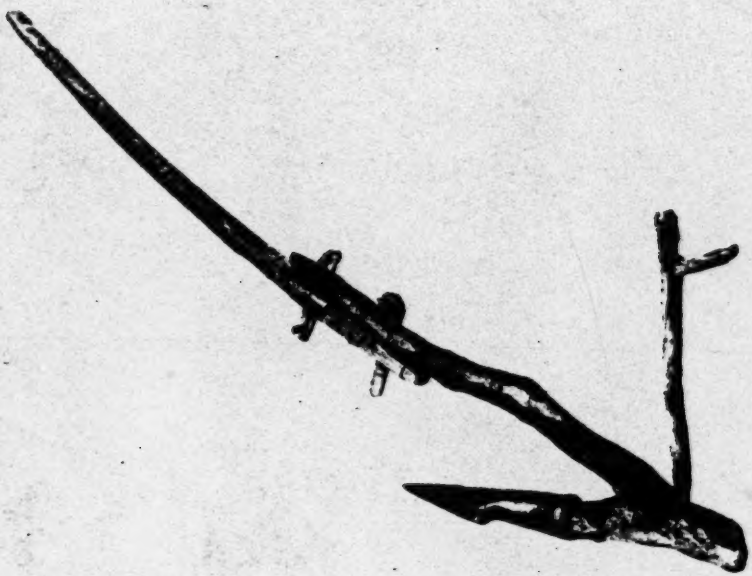

Fig. 11. Wooden plough from Topzawa. Sole and lower part of the beam are in one piece. (E. 2240).

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is also stressed by Leach[60]. The same type of plough is used in Armenia and not, as might have been expected, the Turkish[61].

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The plough is drawn by two animals, ox and donkey or two oxen. They carry on their necks a yoke into which are stuck two sets of wooden sticks wound round with small pieces of felt to stop them galling the necks of the draught animals. The plough's beam is linked with a knob on the yoke by a rope ending in a noose.

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The tobacco fields are cross-ploughed. The non-mouldboard plough does not turn the earth, but scratches it in furrows[62]. Working with it the man or woman must often place a foot on the beam at the side of the handle in order to keep the plough in the furrow. Water from watercourses is led in over the tobacco fields through a main channel from which branch, like the teeth of a comb, side channels. These are opened and closed by means of a small earthwork. Tobacco is harvested at the beginning of September. Women with big pieces of canvas round their bodies like an apron—as is the case when transporting corn from the field to the home—pull the green tobacco leaves on long cords by the help of an iron nail. The tobacco leaves are thereafter dried in the sun and pulverized[63]. So far as I could discover the tobacco is not fermented. Pulverized tobacco cannot be rolled for

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5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

The economy of Kurdistan is primarily pastoral and agricultural. The nomads in particular are rich in sheep and goats, and their wool, goat-hair and dairy produce are always in demand. Rough carpets and cloth for the national costume are woven both by the nomads and in the villages. The principal winter crops are wheat and barley; wheat from the Arbil plain and the Mosul district is reputed to be the best in the whole country and commands a high price; in most years there is an exportable surplus, but there is always a danger of drought and famine. In summer wherever there is water the villagers persist in growing rice for their own needs in spite of official discouragement and the grave prejudice to health from malaria which is directly traceable to it. Minor irrigated summer crops are maize, millet and lentils. The most valuable money crop is tobacco, of which enough (9,000 tons in 1954) is produced for the needs of the whole country, and to spare. Other local products are walnuts, oak-galls, gum tragacanth, and sumac. Timber for building is floated down the major rivers, and, on the Little Zab in particular, rafts of inflated skins called *kalak* still carry grain and other north-country produce more cheaply than other forms of transport. Recent introductions to Kurdistan which are doing well are cotton and sugarbeets. Baghdad is almost exclusively the market for all these commodities. Raisins and dried mulberries from the highlands are generally taken to some nearer point in the plains to be bartered for wheat and barley.

Apart from the great oil industry which has grown up round Kirkuk since the first gusher was struck nearby in October 1927, there has so far been little industrial development. But many Kurds have been trained by the Iraq Petroleum Company in various branches of engineering, and large technical and industrial training colleges established or projected at Mosul and Kirkuk are well placed to attract Kurdish students. Private enterprise may thus be expected to supplement in due course an ambitious governmental programme.

This programme has been made possible by the enhanced and steadily increasing oil royalties which have accrued to the government since 1952 ($250 millions in 1955) and from which the northern *liwas*, like the rest of the country, have already derived great benefit: foreign experts have been engaged to advise on improved methods of cultivating and processing tobacco; a second experimental farm has been started near Sulaimani; artesian wells are being brought in for stock watering and for irrigation where suitable; old roads are being remetalled and new roads opened up; rivers and streams are being bridged; municipal housing, electricity and water schemes are being subsidized; particular attention is being paid to schools and hospitals; a cement factory is nearing completion near Sulaimani; a power station with an initial capacity of 60,000 Kw. (and an ul-

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Chapter I

Subsistence and kinship

SUBSISTENCE

461 Subsistence patterns of the settled population are essentially uniform over the whole South Kurdish area. A long day is spent by the farmer in food producing activities, in part because of primitive techniques, in part because labor is invariably expended in preference to capital.

243 Subsistence is based on cereal agriculture, combined with herding
• 233 (cf. Table I). With an average yearly rainfall of 400—800 mm.
132 concentrated mainly in a rainy season during winter and spring artificial irrigation is only necessary for special crops, such as ric and tobacco. — Wheat and barley are of approximately equal impor tance; tobacco, rice, cotton, peas, lentils, and garden patches o vegetables are subsidiary. Of these, cotton is a recent innovation, an typical only of the tenant villages with an active and intereste landowner.

231 Among the domestic animals, sheep and goats are the importan producers. Cattle are kept more for their use as work animals i plowing and threshing than for their products. Donkeys are use for all transportation, no wheeled vehicles are seen. The horse primarily a prestige symbol, and has little economic use.

241 Productive techniques are generally underdeveloped. Agricultur methods are exceedingly simple, especially with regard to the bas

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

249 As contrasted to grain, where most of the work comes either in
312 winter plowing or harvesting, the subsidiary crops which require irrigation take constant attention in the growing season. The irrigation system of tiny dikes and channels in a tobacco field is at best a rather temporary one, and must be constantly repaired and reinforced. The flow of water must be started and stopped periodically, and one rarely sees a tobacco field in summer without some farmer with his long handled irrigation shovel, fussing with the watering system.

• 233 Herding involves much less work, and the supervision of the flocks can easily be delegated. In the hills, the herdsman is supported by dogs. Morning and evening milking is not too time consuming, and even under quite extreme conditions winter fodder is never provided for the animals, so thus very few man-hours are expended.

LAND TENURE.

423 The characteristics of subsistence and available techniques should
471 to a considerable extent influence the size and composition of economically cooperating groups and work-gangs, and thereby the form of the households. As is evident, however, the above type of activities lays down few imperatives and requires no cooperative division of labor in the fields. Furthermore, the additional factor of land ownership intervenes, and influences group composition according to other principles.

Any comprehensive discussion of land tenure in the area, however, takes on considerable complexity. Property rights have never been mapped and settled (overall mapping and registration is now in progress), and conflicting interpretations and claims are advanced in the various contexts of modern legislation, Ottoman land codes, tribal political organization, or de-facto power. For the moment, we may disregard the historical factors leading up to the present situation, and discuss only those factors that influence division of labor and social classes.

As far as the farmer is concerned, the basic contrast is between a/ land owned by himself, or land belonging to the government, but to which he has traditional usifruct rights, and b/ land on which

619 This whole framework of formal organization may be diagramatically illustrated as below, Diagram 3.

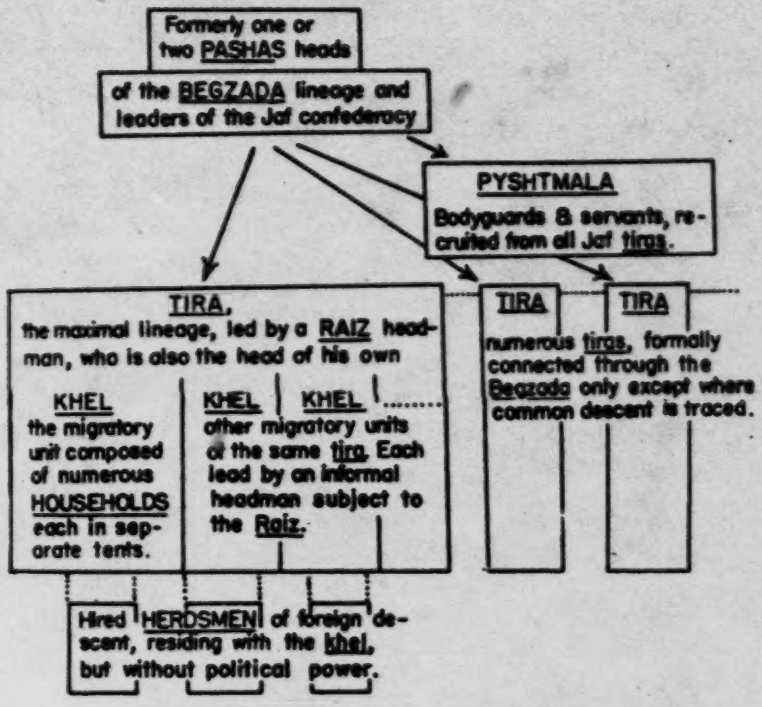
Formerly one or two PASHAS heads
of the BEGZADA lineage and leaders of the Jaf confederacy
PYSHTMALA
Bodyguards & servants, recruited from all Jaf tiras.
TIRA,
the maximal lineage, led by a RAIZ headman, who is also the head of his own
KHEL
the migratory unit composed of numerous HOUSEHOLDS each in separate tents.
KHEL
KHEL
other migratory units of the same tira. Each lead by an informal headman subject to the Raiz.
TIRA
TIRA
numerous tiras, formally connected through the Begzada only except where common descent is traced.
Hired HERDSMEN of foreign descent, residing with the khel, but without political power.

Diagram No. 3. Formal organization of the nomadic Jaf.

556 Within the *khel*, wealth, primarily in the form of herds, is the
• 233 main source of power. Any member of the *tira* has unlimited grazing
rights for his flocks, so there is no legal limit to the accumulation
609 of wealth. The cattle are herded in flocks of 500 or so, with one
• 233 herdsman for each flock. Herdsmen are preferably hired among the
poor people of the *tira*, or they may be «foreigners» associated with
the *khel* purely because of their economic functions. The typical
pattern is to exploit poor relatives for this purpose, a practice familiar
000 from Central Asiatic nomads (e. g. Hudson, 1938, p. 57). Self-

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

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The Nomads. In addition to the permanent settled inhabitants of the three areas here discussed there are certain nomadic groups who move seasonally from one area to another and even out of the district altogether. These nomads are again in many respects a distinct cultural group; their economy is based exclusively on pastoralism as opposed to the pastoral-agriculturalism of the settled peoples. The largest of the nomad tribes are the Herki. They are normally resident in Persia near the southernmost end of Lake Urmia. These high altitudes cannot provide sufficient fodder for their herds throughout the year and during the late autumn the bulk of the tribe migrates down the Rowandus river and spreads out through the foothills (Area B) and the northern fringe of the plains. They return to Persia with the melting of the snows in the late spring. I have no first hand evidence concerning these people and the second hand evidence appears to be both fabulous and contradictory. There is reason to think that their tribal organisation at the present time functions more perfectly than that of the settled groups, presumably owing to less government interference. They possess definite grazing rights in certain areas, even in districts nominally under the control of settled groups* though in other areas they pay some sort of rental for the right to herd their flocks. Their migration is linked with important trade activities. They bring salt with them from Persia to Iraq, and take back wheat and barley. Wool is disposed of on the Erbil market as well as large numbers of their livestock. The duty-free import of salt is of course strictly illegal but is winked at by the authorities. It was reported in the summer of 1938 that the Persian authorities intended to compel the Herki to adopt a settled habitat. It is thus unlikely that it will ever be possible to determine the precise position of this group in the political and economic organisation of the Kurdish area as a whole.

In my field work I stayed nearly all the time in villages occupied by members of the Soran and Balik tribes (see Map 2).

*The Iraq government authorities are able to carry on all negotiations with the Herki through the agency of a single paramount Agha, this despite the fact that the tribe itself scatters into small family groups throughout a very wide area; this seems to imply a high degree of tribal integration. During the summer of 1938 a law case was proceeding between the Agha paramount of the Herki and Jemil Agha of Bahrika (Gerdi tribe) as to whether the former need pay any rent to the latter for the grazing rights of what appeared to be Gerdi land. Jemil Agha complained to me bitterly that the Herki seemed likely to win their case owing to their greater wealth and resources for corruption. The case however establishes the point that they might claim traditional grazing rights in land seemingly within the sphere of influence of permanently settled groups.

by detribalised Kurds from the Sulaimani area. Similar industrial developments further north would provide a labour market for the Kurds of the Erbil liwa. Notoriously the cheapest labour is that which is least organised. Once again the analogy with South African developments is very close.

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Economic relations within the Village

The previous section dealt primarily with the economic relationships between the village group and the outside world, and the way in which changes in the form of this external contact may be expected to effect the basic economic organisation of village life. It is now necessary to consider the same set of phenomena from the point of view of the individual rather than of the village group as a whole.

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In general the motives for exchange within the village group are to be regarded as social rather than economic. The system of cultivation by family groups rather than individuals ensures that there is no great differentiation of economic status as between different commoners, and trading contacts within the group are scarcely necessary.

Crafts

An exception to this is the case of the weaver who occupies a specialist position by virtue of his trade. It should be noted that carding and spinning are not specialist occupations. For the most part the wool is prepared and spun independently by the women of each household. The material is then worked up into cloth by the weaver in return for payment either in cash or kind.*

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Another individual sometimes occupying a specialist position is the herdsman. Both in Walash and Dergala the whole flock of goats and sheep was in charge of a single individual who apparently lived permanently in the open with his charges. It was explained to me that the goatherd was not a member of the village but a stranger, the various families whose flocks he tended contributing jointly to his support. Though the flocks are thus herded together there is no suggestion of 'joint ownership', each man knows his own stock; this fact being amply demonstrated at milking time every morning and evening when the womenfolk go out to the grazing and pick out their own particular property. In other villages conditions are rather different. For instance the Shevdini of Rayat have large herds, and as stated already part of the community separates off during the summer to form an independent hoba, which tends to the cattle exclusively. I have no

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[609]
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* This idealises the existing conditions. It is valid for Dergala but some of the other villagers now have no weaver of their own. The men still nearly all wear Kurdish cloth, but the spinning and weaving is largely concentrated in Rowandus and Erbil.

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information as to how many individuals go with the cattle or what is their relationship with those that stay behind to get in the harvest.

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There are few other specialist occupations. Rug making is a specialist accomplishment of some of the women but the quantities produced are of no economic importance. Other crafts are chiefly in the hands of travelling experts who wander from village to village equipped with the tools of their craft and work up the materials offered to them by their clients. One may name for instance the felt maker, the carpenter, the tinker and the builder. It must be emphasised that these people are not dealers but craftsmen. The felt maker works up the wool provided by the villagers; the villager must provide the wood before the carpenter can make a fork for him. The capital of such craftsmen can therefore be very small and the return for their work is little more than their keep and travelling expenses.

Traders

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Quite distinct from these are the various traders who provide the contact between the village and the outside world. These are best classified by their Kurdish names - miscefrush, star and bazargan. The miscefrush are primarily travelling fruit dealers, their trade is of a local nature and entirely on a barter basis. They provide contact as between one part of the tribal area and another. Thus when I was in Walash a dealer arrived with fruit from Rast which he traded for small quantities of wheat and tobacco.

The star may best be described as a travelling pedlar. He deals in such items as matches, needles, cigarette papers, spices, kerosene, thread, sugar, tea and coffee - in fact he fulfils the functions of the general village store. His terms are partly barter and partly cash. He can however only deal in small quantities - an Agha such as Sheikh Mohammad would always send in direct to Rowanduz for his sugar rather than purchase it through an star. Occasionally the star is permanently established in a single village. A shopkeeper of this sort is known as dukandary; among the villages I visited, shops of this sort only existed in the smuggling centre of Khalan.

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The bazargan maintain permanent shops in the towns such as Rowanduz and Erbil and only send travellers out to the villages. They deal only in the superior categories of goods, - cloth, calico, tea, coffee, sugar - so that their principal clients are the Aghas. For the most part they are Jews or Armenians. They do not trade for barter but gain their trade by offering elastic terms of credit. It is worth noting that usury seems to be excluded; a debt of £5 incurred today is still a debt of £5 if settled in 5 years time. Presumably to allow for this, the prices are quite extortionate. The development of this system of credit trading is, I think, quite new for this part of Kurdistan. It seems likely in due course to lead to the bankruptcy